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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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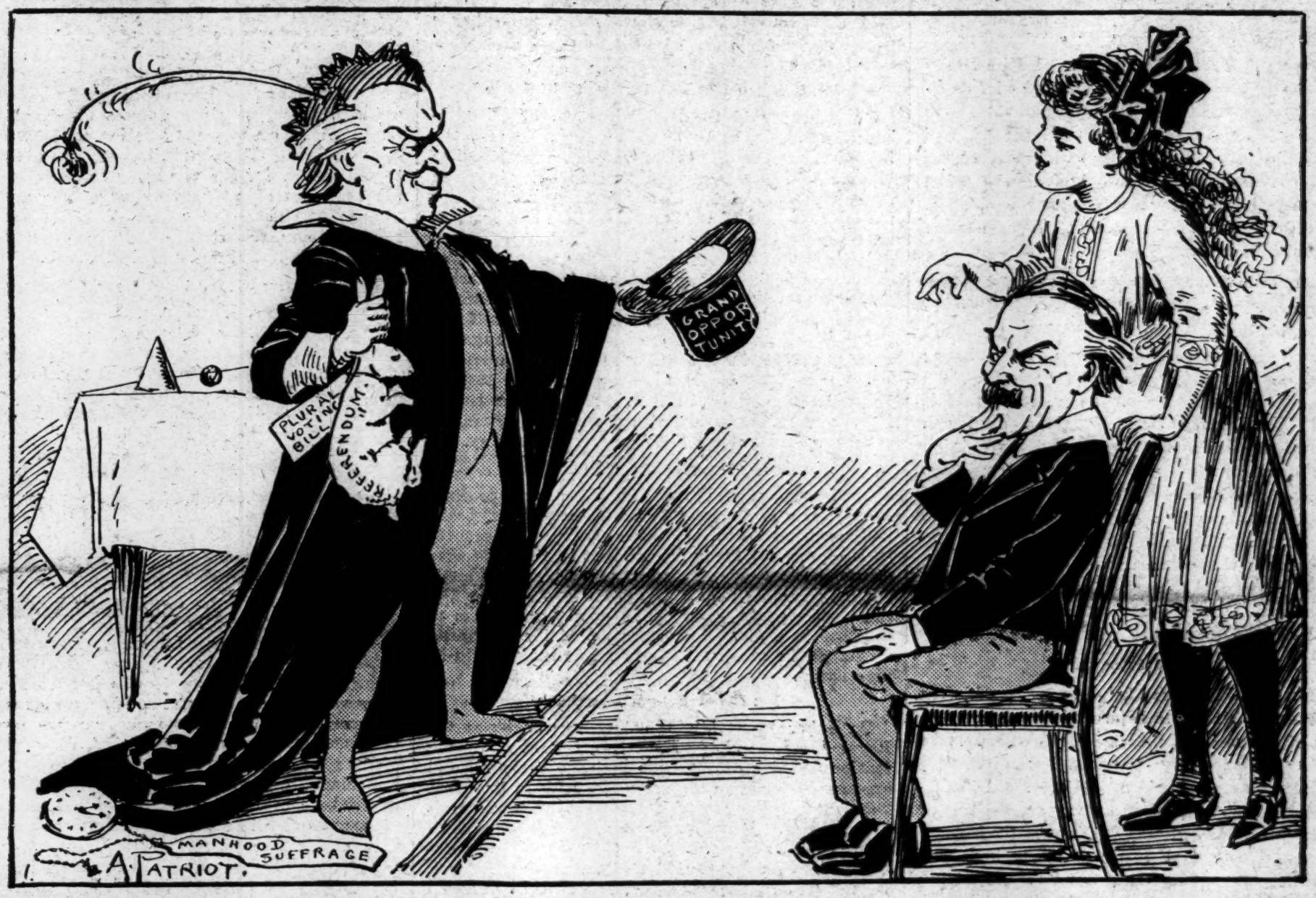
THE "GREAT OPPORTUNITY" TRICK



CONJURER ASQUITH: "Having put into the hat the watch borrowed from the little gentleman on the front bench I wave my wand, and behold! I take out a rabbit."

MILITANT SUFFRAGIST: "The rabbit was there all the time! And you simply dropped the watch—as I always said you would, though you promised to turn it into a Votes for Women flag!

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

To all our readers a very happy New Year! May it bring many fresh successes to the Suffrage cause in different parts of the world.

The Franchise

Once more Parliament is sitting at Westminster, and before long, unless there is some fresh turn in the political kaleidoscope, the Franchise Bill will be under discussion in real earnest. We have never disguised from our readers our conviction that so far as the prospect of enfranchising women is concerned the Bill is worse than useless; but this will not prevent us, when our expectation is fulfilled, from putting the blame on the right shoulders. In craft the Bill was conceived, and in craft will the Woman Suffrage amendments be defeated. It will be our part to drag these facts out into the light of day, so that, in the eyes of Suffragists, not a shred of honour remains to the Cabinet Ministers responsible for such deliberate fraud.

The "Wait and See" Game Again

In the House of Commons last Tuesday, the Prime Minister, asked by Sir Henry Craik whether the provisions of the Parliament Act would apply to the Franchise Bill if it included a Woman Suffrage amendment and was thus altered in a sense contradictory to a previous decision of the present House of Commons, replied that "it would be better to discuss that when they came to the Bill itself." He "had nothing to add" to his former "public declarations on the subject," and, when asked what chance the Bill would have if it did not enjoy the benefit of the Parliament Act, observed that this "was a matter of opinion." The *Manchester Guardian*, in its account of Tuesday's incident, calls Mr. Asquith "cautious," "uncommunicative," and of "unshaken circumspection." We should have applied other expressions than these to such shuffling when employed by a Liberal Prime Minister, dealing with the most serious political question of the day.

The "Great Opportunity"

Being already fully aware of the duplicity that surrounds the whole treatment of the Woman Suffrage question in the House of Commons, we need only say that this remarkable exhibition of evasion on the part of Mr. Asquith confirms all our anticipations. But what have those other Suffragists to say about it, the men and women who do believe in the "great opportunity" offered them in an amendment to the Franchise Bill? Are they content to "wait and see" what happens when it is too late to withdraw this worthless Bill and substitute a simple Government measure to enfranchise women?

The Dawn of 1913

Nor is the shuffling of the Prime Minister the only ominous sign of the moment. Sir Henry Lucy, writing in last Sunday's *Observer*, confidently foretells the substitution of a Plural Voting Bill. The Referendum scare, which we discuss in our leading article, has again been revived, and in an influential quarter. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs points out in a letter to the *Englishwoman* the danger, to which we have never been blind, of the Suffrage forces in the House being divided by the different amendments. There is always, too, the question of time, on which the Prime Minister, when questioned further by Lord Robert Cecil, showed himself equally reticent. The dawn of the New Year cannot be said to be marked by a striking display of anxiety on the part of His Majesty's Government to do justice to women. But the determination of women to win justice for themselves, their militant spirit, and their indomitable purpose have never been stronger than at the dawn of 1913.

THE STORY OF 1912

The year 1912 has been crowded with events relating to Woman Suffrage both in this country and all over the world.

When the Year Began

At the beginning of the year there were nineteen women in Holloway Gaol in consequence of the protest which they had made in the previous November against the breach of faith of the Government with regard to the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Macdougall was also in prison for an assault on Mr. Lloyd George's motor-car, and Mr. William Ball was serving two months' hard labour for breaking a pane of glass in the Home Office. In the political world the Government found themselves in an awkward dilemma with regard to the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill, and there seemed to some people a prospect of definite dissension in the Cabinet over the inclusion of women in this measure.

Six Months for an Attempt on a Pillar Box

On January 9 the trial took place of Miss Emily Wilding Davison, who had been arrested on December 15 of the previous year for trying to set fire to a pillar-box. Miss Davison defended herself, and addressed the jury on the historical aspect of the question, showing that violence had always taken place when political freedom was refused or delayed. She was sentenced to six months' imprisonment without hard labour.

Proposal to Submit Woman Suffrage to a Referendum

On January 11 a special article (subsequently attributed to Mr. Winston Churchill) appeared in the columns of the *Daily Chronicle*, in which it was recommended that a Referendum be taken on the question of Woman Suffrage. In reference to this proposal Sir Edward Grey, speaking at North Sunderland, on January 20, expressed the opinion that the Cabinet were precluded by their pledges from taking such a course on their own initiative, but he did not think the same objection applied to the insertion of a Referendum clause into the Bill by an independent vote of the House of Commons. A few weeks later (February 23), speaking in Manchester, he declared that he himself would oppose the submission of the question to an electorate of men.

Release of Prisoners

On January 23 Mrs. Mary Leigh was released, after having suffered her ninth term of imprisonment—a sentence of two months, inflicted for taking part in the demonstration of the previous November, and for assaulting a constable in self-defence. On February 10 and February 12 eighteen women, the last of those imprisoned for breaking windows in the November demonstration, were released. They had been refused all remission on the ground that, availing themselves of the privileges of Rule 243a, they had not performed any prison work.

The Case of Mr. William Ball

On February 12 Mr. William Ball was released from Pentonville Prison in a serious mental condition. He had been fed by force continually for five weeks, but no intimation that his health was failing had been given by the authorities of the prison until his wife received a letter from the Governor on the morning of his release, stating that on that day he would be certified as insane and removed to a pauper lunatic asylum. Before Mrs. Ball could reach the prison her husband had been taken away to Colney Hatch.

Whitewashing the Authorities

The greatest indignation was felt among members of the Women's Social and Political Union and the general public when these facts were made known, and such pressure was brought to bear on the authorities that within thirty-six hours Mr. Ball was restored to his friends, who placed him under careful medical attention in a nursing home. Questions were asked in the House of Commons, and debates on the motion for adjournment took place on February 25 and 26. Mr. McKenna defended the action of the authorities, but promised an enquiry by an independent medical man. This enquiry was subsequently held in April by Sir George Savage, and was conducted in private, no opportunity for cross-examining the officials being provided. His report in consequence simply whitewashed the authorities and argued that Mr. Ball was of a weak mind before he went into prison, and that the forcible feeding had nothing to do with his state on release. The public, however, who are accustomed to these official denials, drew their own conclusions.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the Albert Hall

On February 13 the Labour Party held a great meeting in the Albert Hall to support Adult Suffrage. Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, who presided, said that the Labour Party would leave no stone unturned to give women the vote, and in reply to a voice, "Will you turn out the Government?" answered "Certainly." The subsequent history of the attitude of the Labour Party has shown the way in which the spirit of this promise has been kept!

Balloting for the Conciliation Bill

On Friday, February 16, the ballot took place in the House of Commons for private members' Bills. Mr. Harold Baker secured the first place for a Plural Voting Bill. Mr. Agg-Gardner secured the third place for the Conciliation Bill, and decided to put down the date of the second reading as Friday, March 22. As will be subsequently seen, owing to the debate on the coal strike, the second reading actually took place on Thursday, March 28.

Mr. Hobhouse Incites Women to Violence

On February 16 the Right Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse, speaking at the Colston Hall, Bristol, defended the action of the Government with regard to Woman Suffrage. He said that in every demand by any portion of the electorate in previous times for the extension of the franchise there had been, as an accompaniment of that demand, demonstrations on the part of the public. In the present days of cheap and easy railway traffic they could always arrange numerous deputations or demonstrations, and they could be as noisy as their funds permitted—but they had not had, in the case of the suffrage demands, the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or Hyde Park railings in 1867. This extraordinary incitement to women played a prominent part in the subsequent trial of the Suffrage Leaders in May.

The Argument of the Broken Pane

On the same night that Mr. Hobhouse was speaking in Bristol a dinner was given to the prisoners who had recently been released after serving three months in Holloway for breaking windows in the November demonstration. Mrs. Pankhurst, who presided, made a speech, in which she referred to "the argument of the broken pane," and called upon her hearers to join her in a great demonstration at the beginning of March, in which this "new argument" would be used again.

Mr. Lloyd George's Position

On February 23 Mr. Lloyd George spoke at the Royal Albert Hall, at a meeting organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and expressed once more his professed faith in the great "opportunity" provided by the Government's Reform Bill. He was considerably interrupted by Suffragettes, and at the close of his speech was constrained to answer several questions on the subject. He refused to make any attempt to show by political arithmetic how he expected any amendment enfranchising women to be carried by the House of Commons, contenting himself with saying that there was a majority in favour of the principle. With regard to the Referendum he was himself personally opposed to it, but the intentions of the Government on this question could only be expounded by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Asquith Refuses to see a Deputation

An attempt was accordingly made by the Women's Social and Political Union to obtain an answer from Mr. Asquith with regard to the Referendum, and a letter was sent to him by Mrs. Pankhurst asking him to receive a deputation on this subject. To this Mr. Asquith sent his usual curt refusal, saying that he had nothing to add to the statements which he made to the deputations on November 18 and December 15 of the previous year. A further letter from the W.S.P.U., pointing out that on those dates the question of the Referendum had not arisen, only produced the reply that Mr. Asquith was not prepared to reconsider his decision.

The Great Demonstration

The answer of the Women's Social and Political Union was a great demonstration, which took place on Friday, March 1, on Monday, March 4, and on subsequent days, in the course of which several hundred plate-glass windows in the West End of London and elsewhere were deliberately broken by women with hammers or stones. The windows of the Prime Minister's residence in Downing Street were broken by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and Mrs. Marshall. Altogether between 200 and 300 women were arrested.

Sentences on the Women

These events caused universal excitement. Many shopkeepers barricaded their shops, and museums and picture galleries were closed. At the same time a chorus of indignation appeared in the newspapers in which the demand for the exemplary punishment of the offenders was freely expressed. The cases of the arrested women were heard day by day at the police court. Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, Mrs. Tuke to twenty-one days. Of the others, some were summarily dealt with, receiving sentences ranging from a fortnight's imprisonment to two months' hard labour. Others were committed to take their trial at the Newington Sessions on March 13, March 26, and subsequent days, when twenty-five of them got six months, fifty-three four months, seven three months, and twelve were discharged. The women were confined in prisons in different parts of the country, and in many cases even the concessions of Rule 243a were refused.

The Arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

On Tuesday, March 5, a warrant was granted at Bow Street against the Suffragette Leaders on a charge of conspiracy, and the police officers raided the premises of the Women's Social and Political Union on the same evening, and arrested Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and took them to Bow Street, where bail was refused. They also conducted a search of the premises, opening all the desks and cupboards, and carrying away a large quantity of the papers. The warrant also included the name of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, but she was not arrested by the police, for she was away in her own flat, of the existence of which they were apparently not aware. She accordingly escaped to France on the following day, and continued to keep in touch with the Women's Social and Political Union.

The Conspiracy Charge at Bow Street

On Wednesday, March 6, the hearing of the conspiracy charge was conducted at Bow Street before Mr. Curtis Bennett, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke having been brought from Holloway to join Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the dock. The warrant was read out and formal evidence of arrest was given, and the case was remanded for a week. Bail was refused to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who were taken away to Brixton and Holloway accordingly. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke were taken back in charge of the wardresses to Holloway Prison.

Subsequent Events

On the following evening a great and enthusiastic meeting was held in the London Opera House, which was addressed by Mrs. Brailsford, Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, Mr. George Lansbury, Lady Constance Lytton, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. This was an eye-opener to the Government, who imagined that the blow which they had struck had crippled the militant movement. On the following day the famous issue of Votes for Women was published, in which several of the spaces where articles were due to appear were left blank, owing to the printer's fear that they might be considered seditious. The London Opera House was again filled a few days later by a meeting held under the auspices of the National Political League, with Sir Alfred Mond in the chair, at which the futility of coercion in the face of a genuine political grievance was pointed out. A letter was also circulated by a number of women prominent in London Society which, while sympathising with the loss sustained by tradesmen, urged them to try to induce the Government to remove the real cause of the whole trouble.

Leaders Committed for Trial

The further hearing of the charges against the Leaders was conducted at Bow Street from week to week, and was finally completed on March 28. The magistrate discharged Mrs. Tuke, but announced his intention of committing Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to take their trial at the Old Bailey. He also expressed his willingness at this juncture to release Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on bail, after their having been kept in prison for three weeks. Subsequently it was announced that Mrs. Pankhurst would be released pending her trial. The actual commitment took place on April 4.

The Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill

In the House of Commons interest centred round the second reading debate on the Conciliation Bill, on March 28. Mr. Crawshay Williams, Parliamentary Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir William Byles had been busy circularising Members of Parliament to vote against the Bill on account of the militant action of the women. The Prime Minister himself took part in the debate, and urged members to vote against the second reading, which was in the end defeated by 15 votes. Three causes contributed principally to the defeat of the Bill. Firstly, the action of the Irish Party, who, following the lead of Mr. Redmond, gave a solid vote against it. Secondly, the opposition of a large number of Liberal Suffragists, who, out of "loyalty" to Mr. Asquith, or in response to Mr. Crawshay Williams's invitation, swallowed their pledges; and thirdly, the absence of a large number

of the Labour Party, only twenty-seven of whom turned up to support the measure.

Great Meeting in the Albert Hall

On the same evening that the Conciliation Bill was defeated a great meeting was held by the W.S.P.U. in the Royal Albert Hall, at which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who had just been released on bail, were present. The speakers, who included Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Israel Zangwill, and Miss Elizabeth Robins—were received with very great enthusiasm, but the crowning effect was produced by the collection, which, in response to an appeal by Miss Evelyn Sharp, who was officiating for the night as Treasurer in place of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, amounted to the record sum of £10,500, exceeding by over £2,000 the largest sum which had hitherto been collected at any one meeting for the Suffrage Cause. The effect of this meeting was to prove to the world that the trial of the Suffrage Leaders had so far done nothing but increase the spirit and enthusiasm of the militant movement.

Hunger Strike to Secure Political Treatment

Shortly after this a hunger strike was undertaken by the women in prison against the refusal to accord them political treatment. The flag was first raised in Aylesbury Prison on April 5, and this example was followed a little later by 100 women in Holloway. Some attempt at forcible feeding was made, but after a few women had been released the Home Secretary saw fit to give way so far as to accord concessions of Rule 243a to all the Women Suffragists in prison. Though the women were not at all satisfied with these conditions, which by no means represented the complete treatment of political offenders, they decided to suspend further action until the result of the trial of the Leaders for conspiracy should be reached.

Mrs. Lawrence's Previous Conviction Upheld

On April 23, in the High Court, the question of the conviction of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in November of the preceding year was brought up. It will be remembered that owing to a defect in the proceedings (the principal witness for the prosecution not having been sworn and the case having been heard over again), doubt as to the legality of her conviction had been raised, and a rule had been granted for the suspension of the sentence, and she had been released pending the hearing of the case. The Court now decided that the conviction was to be upheld, but a statement was made that no further proceedings in the case would be taken, and Mrs. Lawrence therefore remained at liberty.

The Nationalist Convention, Dublin

At the beginning of April Mr. Redmond received a deputation from the Irish Franchise League and gave a thoroughly unsatisfactory reply to their questions. On the 23rd of the same month took place the Nationalist Convention at Dublin. The wire-pullers secured a vote leaving the question of amendments to the Home Rule Bill to the discretion of the Irish Party, thereby precluding any discussion inside the Convention of the question of Woman Suffrage. Meanwhile, a body of women who had come up from every part of Ireland on a deputation to Mr. Redmond and were waiting outside the hall were met by the police and were subjected to every kind of discourtesy, and in some cases definite ill-treatment. The sequel to this was a militant demonstration of Irishwomen on June 14 in Dublin, when eight women were arrested, four of whom were subsequently sentenced summarily to two months' imprisonment and four were tried and convicted and sentenced by the Recorder to five months. All the imprisonments were in the first division.

Political Events

About this time the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Women's Freedom League decided to adopt the policy of supporting the Labour Party at elections. The W.S.P.U. opposed this policy on the ground that the Labour Party as a whole were not attacking the Government as they ought to do. On May 21 Mr. George Lansbury attempted to introduce a new Bill for the simple removal of the sex disqualification. The Speaker ruled this Bill out of order on the ground that it was in principle similar to the Conciliation Bill, the second reading of which had already been rejected by the House of Commons during the current session.

The Trial at the Old Bailey

On May 15, at the Old Bailey, began the historic trial of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The fifty-four counts in the indictment charged them with conspiring together to get windows broken, procuring the breaking of windows, and with actually breaking windows (vicariously). The case was heard before Mr. Justice Coleridge. The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs), in a long speech, outlined the evidence against each of the defendants. The hearing occupied six days, in which the prosecution called the evidence of about 130 witnesses. Mr. Pethick Lawrence opened the defence in a speech in which he gave the history of the movement which had led up to the window-breaking demonstration of the previous March. After calling witnesses, he concluded with an appeal to the jury to recognise the political nature of their action, quoting the utterances of renowned statesmen of the past and present in support of militancy. Mrs. Pankhurst followed with an impassioned speech, in which she showed how women had been driven to take the course which they had adopted in March. Mr. Tim Healy wound up the case for the defence with a speech on behalf of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Verdict and Sentence

After a further speech from the Attorney-General and a summing up by the Judge, strongly biassed in favour of the prosecution, the jury deliberated for an hour and a half, and gave a verdict of guilty against all the defendants, adding the following rider :—

We desire unanimously to express the hope that, taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlie the agitation which has led to this trial, you will be pleased to exercise the utmost leniency in dealing with the case.

In spite of this moral acquittal by the jury and an appeal from each of the defendants for treatment as political prisoners, the Judge passed the sentence of nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and further made a charge against Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence of the costs of the prosecution. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence were taken away to Holloway and Mr. Pethick Lawrence to Wormwood Scrubbs.

The Treatment of Political Offenders

The question of prison treatment was promptly raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Keir Hardie Mr. McKenna, in reply, said : "In no case have any of these prisoners been asked to put on prison dress." This statement, in the case of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, was directly at variance with facts. Meanwhile a great meeting was held at the London Opera House, organised by the National Political League, to demand for all Suffragist prisoners the treatment of political offenders. This was followed up by memorials from important men and women all over the country. These included M. Jaurés, Mdme. Curie, and other prominent men and women of France; M. Vandeweldt, M. Maeterlinck, and other prominent men in Belgium; M. Milyukoff and other well-known Russians; the Right Hon. W. P. Schreiner, Olive Schreiner, Mrs. Botha, and several hundred men and women in South Africa, as well as the names of leading Oxford professors, Cambridge professors, and men and women of repute all over the world.

Mr. McKenna Places the Leaders in the First Division

On Monday, June 10, the Government decided to give way so far as the Suffrage Leaders were concerned, and first class treatment was promised by Mr. McKenna to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, but he refused to accord the same treatment to the eighty-one other women in prison. A memorial, organised by the National Political League, and signed by over 100 Members of Parliament, was presented to him, urging this course upon him, but he showed no sign of yielding.

Albert Hall Meeting

On June 15 a great Albert Hall meeting was held by the W.S.P.U., addressed by Mrs. Tuke, Miss Annie Kenney, Mr. Tim Healy, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, and Miss Elizabeth Robins. £6,000 was raised for the funds, and the announcement was made that unless political treatment was accorded to all the women in prison they would adopt the hunger strike, and this would be immediately followed by a sympathetic hunger strike on the part of the Leaders.

Hunger Strike and Forcible Feeding

Hunger striking actually began on Wednesday, June 19, and on the following evening the question was raised in the House of Commons, Sir John Rolleston, Lord Robert Cecil, and others taking part in the discussion. Mr. McKenna announced his intention of applying forcible feeding in all cases, and this disgusting operation was actually performed on Saturday, June 22, on a large number of the prisoners, including Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. On Monday Mr. Lansbury moved the adjournment of the House, and later denounced Mr. Asquith on the floor of the House of Commons.

Release of the Prisoners at the Point of Death

On the following Friday, June 28, an important debate took place, in which a very large number of members spoke against the practice of forcible feeding, and called upon the Home Secretary to give the prisoners political treatment. Their argument was supported by the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and many other Liberal papers. In the meanwhile the precarious condition of the majority of the prisoners had rendered it necessary for them to be released. Mrs. Pankhurst was released on June 23, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on the following day, and by Thursday, June 27, forty-three of the Suffragists, including Mr. Pethick Lawrence, had been released, and the remainder were out of prison in the course of the next fortnight. The futility, as well as the barbarity, of forcible feeding was in this way demonstrated.

Ministers Confronted with Determined Opposition

These events evoked great indignation all over the country against the Ministers. Mr. Lloyd George was interrupted many times by women during a speech in Carnavon, and attempted to meet their criticism by the dishonest statement spoken in Welsh, "There are many ways of earning a day's wage, but the one adopted by the Suffragettes is the most contemptible." Mr McKenna, in Cardiff, during the King's visit to that town, was confronted by a Suffragette who reminded him of his brutal behaviour to women. Mr. Asquith was violently shaken by a woman at an At Home at which he was present in Queen's Gate, and it was subsequently announced that the Reception to him, which was to have been held at the National Liberal Club, would be put off in consequence of the possibility of the presence of militant Suffragists. Interruptions also took place at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Woodford, and so roughly were interrupters handled that an ambulance was requisitioned, and Mr. Smithies-Taylor subsequently secured damages from the Liberal stewards. On July 13 Mr. Charles Gray attempted to question Mr. Lloyd George, who was entering the Kennington Theatre, and to protect himself from the attacks of the stewards caught hold of Mr. Lloyd George's coat, with the result that both fell on the ground. Mr. Gray was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

The Manhood Suffrage Bill

On June 17 the Government's Franchise Bill was introduced, practically giving the Parliamentary vote to all adult men. Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Goldman, Mr. D. M. Mason, and others protested against the exclusion of women from the provisions of the Bill, and it was again criticised on the second reading debate on July 9 by those members and also by Sir A. Markham, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law, who laid stress upon the cowardly and unconstitutional position of the Government.

Mr. Harben's Significant Action

A striking step was taken on July 1 by Mr. H. D. Harben, the official Liberal candidate for the Barnstaple division of Devonshire. In order to express his indignation at the practice of forcible feeding by the Liberal Government and their continued refusal of justice to Women Suffragists, Mr. Harben threw up his candidature, thereby renouncing what was practically an assured entrance into the House of Commons at the next General Election. In a cogent letter to the Press, Mr. Harben gave the reasons for his decision.

Attack upon Mr. Harcourt's House

On July 13 Miss Helen Craggs and Dr. Ethel Smyth were arrested in consequence of an alleged attempt to set fire to Mr. Harcourt's house at Nuneham. Dr. Ethel Smyth was subsequently able to prove an alibi. Miss Craggs was tried on October 19 and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour. She at once adopted the hunger strike, and, after forcible feeding had been resorted to, was released in the course of a few days.

Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond in Dublin

On July 20 Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond visited Dublin. They were confronted by Suffragettes throughout the course of their journey. In Dublin a hatchet was thrown into the carriage in which they were riding, and an attempt was also made to burn down the theatre in which they were going to speak. Mrs. Leigh, Miss Gladys Evans, Miss Capper, and Mrs. Baines were arrested for these offences, and the trial took place on August 6. Miss Capper was discharged, Mrs. Baines was sentenced for a minor offence to seven months' hard labour, Miss Gladys Evans was found guilty by the jury of attempting to set fire to the theatre, and a similar verdict was given against Mrs. Leigh on a second hearing of the case, the jury having disagreed on the first occasion. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans were sentenced to five years' penal servitude. All three of the prisoners adopted the hunger strike. Mrs. Baines was released, after five days' fast, on August 19. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans were fed by force until, at the point of death, Mrs. Leigh was released on September 21 and Miss Gladys Evans on October 3. In the case of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans an attempt was made to enforce ticket-of-leave restrictions, and Miss Gladys Evans was re-arrested on several occasions for failing to notify the police of her movements, but in each case she was discharged by the magistrates. Finally, on December 19, when both she and Mrs. Leigh were charged before the magistrate with failing to comply with the terms of the licence on which they had been released from Mountjoy Prison, counsel asked that a case should be stated for the King's Bench Division, and the two women were accordingly released on bail, pending the decision of the High Court. Mrs. Leigh was brought up again on December 11 on the charge of wounding Mr. Redmond with a hatchet, but the jury disagreed, and the case was put back to the next Commission, the judge making a strong recommendation to the prosecution not to press the case any further.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's House Sold Up

On August 19, while Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence were on a visit to British Columbia recruiting their health after their experiences in prison, the Govern-

ment endeavoured to strike a further blow at them by placing bailiffs in their house, The Mascot, Holmwood, Surrey, in order to recover the costs of the recent prosecution (about £1,100), which had been adjudged against Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst. Bailiffs waited in the house six weeks until Mr. Lawrence's return, and on his failure to pay the amount, the furniture and belongings of the house were sold up on October 31. A large number of friends attended the sale, which realised about £300. Up to the end of the year no further attempt had been made to attack the funds of Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. Lloyd George in Wales

On September 5 Mr. Lloyd George was questioned by women at Wrexham, where he had gone to attend the Eisteddfod The greatest brutality was shown to the women, Mr. Lloyd George inciting the stewards to violence by saying, "I remember little Eisteddfodau at which prizes were given for the best hazel walking-sticks. One of those sticks, by the way, would be rather a good thing to have now." On September 21 he spoke at Llanystumdwy, when the women were treated with even greater brutality—handfuls of hair being pulled out and their dresses being in some cases torn to ribbons. A prosecution was subsequently instituted against one of the alleged offenders, but the Bench refused to convict on the plea that the identity of the person was not established.

Imprisonment of Mr. Mark Wilks

On September 20 Mr. Mark Wilks was arrested on account of his inability and refusal to pay the taxes on the income of his wife, derived from her separate estate. A great campaign of protest was organised by the Suffrage Societies, and on October 2 Mr. Wilks was released without having paid the tax. The question was subsequently discussed in the House of Lords, and the folly of the existing law was admitted.

Division Between the Leaders of the W.S.P.U.

At the first re-union of the Leaders of the W.S.P.U. in London, in October, Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst requested Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to withdraw from the Union and resume control of this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN. A difference of opinion had arisen as to a certain course which the militant policy might take in the immediate future, and the only solution of the difficulty acceptable to Mrs. Pankhurst was severance. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, realising that no alternative was open to them except to create a split in the ranks of the Union, reluctantly decided to adopt this course. Accordingly they were not present at the great meeting of the W.S.P.U. on October 16, and since that date this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, has been published as an independent Woman Suffrage organ.

The Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill

On November 5 Mr. Philip Snowden moved an amendment to the Home Rule Bill to make the electorate for the Irish House of Commons the same as the existing Local Government Register for Ireland instead of the Parliamentary Register as provided in the Bill. This amendment, which would have enfranchised women for the purpose of Irish self-government, was opposed by the Nationalist M.P.'s and by the Liberal Government, who put on their Whips against it. The Labour Party left the question an open one to their members, and 27 voted in favour and 5 against. The amendment was in the end lost by 173 votes, 314 to 141.

The Attitude of Women

As a protest against this action several women broke windows in Bond Street, two of them being sent to prison for a fortnight and two others for a month. Meanwhile, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held a great meeting in the Albert Hall, and raised a sum of £5,000. A special deputation of women marched all the way from Edinburgh to London, arriving on November 16, but the Prime Minister refused to receive them.

George Lansbury Fights Bow and Bromley

On November 15 Mr. George Lansbury resigned his seat in the House of Commons owing to his desire to be free of allegiance to the Labour Party and to fight a definite battle against the Government for the way in which they were treating the question of Woman Suffrage. A great campaign was conducted in the constituency by all the Suffrage societies, and Mr. Lansbury succeeded in polling 3,291 votes; he was, however, defeated by 751 votes by his Conservative opponent, who had the support not only of Conservatives but of the Liberal Party, Mr. Lloyd George subsequently referring to the Conservative as "my candidate." The readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN contributed a sum of £362 towards the expenses of Mr. Lansbury's campaign.

Tampering with Pillar Boxes

During the month of November and the beginning of December, a great many attacks on pillar-boxes took place in different parts of the country, by which letters were partially destroyed. It was subsequently discovered that this action was due to Woman Suffragists, and those who were capable of reading beneath the surface realised that the blame for what was being done rested with those Cabinet Ministers who had broken the fundamental laws of civilisation by refusing to pay any attention to the constitutional expression of women's demand for enfranchisement. In December a number of women also gave false fire alarms. A few arrests were made, and sentences of two and three months' imprisonment were passed on the women.

Victories in Other Lands

Striking victories have been gained for the Cause of Woman Suffrage in other parts of the world. In April the announcement was made that the Chinese women had secured the franchise. Subsequent information, however, has shown that this is only true in the case of the province of Canton. So far as the rest of the country is concerned the Reform party, having used women in the early stages of the revolution, have thrown them over when their end was attained. In September and November referenda were taken in six American States, and success was attained in four, namely, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, and Michigan, bringing up the total number of the United States in which equal suffrage prevails to ten. The Pacific Coast is now solid for Woman Suffrage, and an important outpost has been established in the east in the shape of Michigan. The equal suffrage States have between them about one quarter of the area and one ninth of the population of the whole of U.S.A. At the beginning of December a Franchise Bill, granting Woman Suffrage, was carried through the Lower House in Denmark by a large majority. It will, however, have to be passed by the Upper House and by both Houses again after a general election before it becomes law.

Miscellaneous Events

Owing to the enormous number of events which have taken place during the past year it has been impossible in the foregoing summary to deal exhaustively with them all. Among the many interesting items which have not been referred to have been the Deputation sent by the W.S.P.U. to Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, on August 28, and the subsequent mission of Miss Barbara Wylie to the Canadian Suffragists. On August 24 a strong protest appeared in *The Lancet* from Dr. Agnes Savill, Sir Victor Horsley, and Dr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., against the dangerous practice of forcible feeding. At the Hertford Quarter Sessions a juryman refused to serve to try a Woman Suffragist on the ground that women were not represented in the laws: no action was taken in his case by the authorities, and the prisoner was sentenced to imprisonment in the First Division. Mr. McKenna was completely prevented from speaking at the Holborn Town Hall on November 4, and Mr. John Redmond's speech was rendered incoherent at the Dalston Theatre by Woman Suffragists on Saturday, December 7, the interrupters being very brutally handled. Women were arrested for being present in the hall in which Mr. Lloyd George was going to speak in Aberdeen and for having the ammunition of toy pistols in their hands, and were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Many other women have been imprisoned at various times during the year for other offences. Writs have been served, on behalf of certain insurance companies, on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke by a number of firms who suffered from the window-breaking in March. Many thousand public meetings have also been held by the various Suffrage societies which space has prevented us from enumerating.

Obituary

Since our last annual summary several devoted workers in the Suffrage Cause have been taken away from us by death. On December 31, 1911, Miss Cicely Wolseley Haig passed away. She had suffered for a year from the effects of the ill-treatment she had received on "Black Friday," November 18, 1910. On August 6 Nurse Pitfield, who had been five times in prison for the Cause, died under great suffering from cancer, brought on in the first instance by forcible feeding in prison. Nurse Pitfield was an heroic soul, whose famous words, "One goes into prison a Suffragette; one comes out a living flame," will long be remembered. On May 8 Miss Rose Lightman, one of the earliest workers in the militant movement, "died in harness," as was said of her at the time, "for she worked with heroic endurance, not letting others know how seriously her health was impaired, until struck down by the illness which proved fatal." In November another real loss was sustained in Mrs. Morrissey, an ardent Liverpool Suffragist, who went to prison twice for militant action, in the earlier days of the agitation. Early in December Mrs. Phillips, a firm believer in the militant movement, passed away after a long illness; she was known to many of our readers as the mother of Miss Mary Phillips, who has suffered imprisonment more than once for the cause. Others connected with the movement whose death during the year we deeply regret to record are: Mrs. Barclay, of Ingagone, Prestwick; Mrs. Lecky, of Blairgowry; Mrs. McLelland, of Pinner; Miss Carter, of Ilfracombe; Miss Mary Ann Dering, of Leicester; Mr. Harry Mosen, and Mr. Pertwee.

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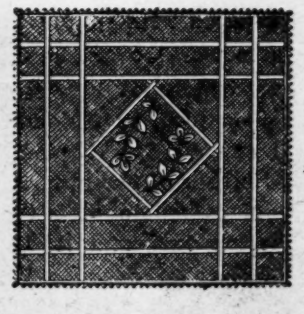

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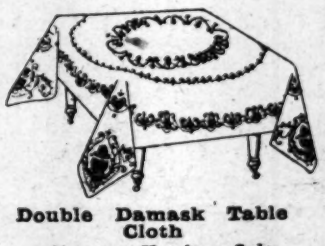

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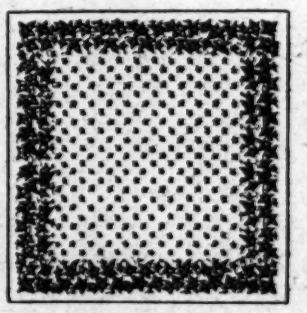

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NEW NOVELS

Adnam's Orchard*

There is a large restfulness in this book. It is like taking a very long leisurely country walk in which one meets hosts of pleasant, interesting people, and has glimpses now and then of the sea or a distant city spire, and one keeps meeting the same people and seeing the same views, and the walk never comes to an end. For although this book is as long as an old-fashioned long novel, it is only a first volume, or rather the first instalment of a trilogy. Thus in all its 640 pages there is no plot, only a series of introductions to all sorts of people, mingled with long, reflective passages. This is not a book for hurried times or hurried people, but its pleasant large deliberation is very attractive. It is a village story, and has much of the soothing dreaminess of a village landscape. High above the village stands the Duke's castle, and between it and the labourers' cottages are the Squire's place and the farm of Yeoman Pratt, whose title to family pride is as good as that of the Duke himself. It is Pratt's son Adnam who gives his name to the title-page, and the orchard may be said to be the "hero." Adnam begs an old field from his father, and starts intensive culture, to the amazement and disapproval of the whole countryside. The orchard, one supposes, is meant to permeate and mould the whole tale, much as the wheat does in the "Octopus"; and the main criticism on the book is that this is not quite successfully done. We are not constantly aware of the orchard as a background, nor does it seem relevantly to affect other people's lives; rather we are taken abruptly in and out of the orchard much as we are taken in and out of the castle and the church. The orchard simply occupies a place in the architecture of the story. But there is no need to complain of that, for Mrs. Grand surrounds us with such a wealth of new acquaintances that we are full of delightful bewilderment. The interest of the book lies in its people, and we are glad to meet them every day, even when they do and say much the same things each time. They are laid before us expansively, so that when we come, as we suppose we shall, to action, in the next volume, we shall be perfectly acquainted with the subtleties of their characters.

The Duke and his sons, old Pratt, and Adnam, and indeed all the men, are living figures; but perhaps the women, as in a state of transition, are particularly interesting. There is quiet Ursula Pratt, looking so old-fashioned, so sweet, so saintly, yet sure of the woman's right to her due place in the world. There is wild Lena, a rebel without knowing why. There is Ella Banks, the beautiful lace-maker, with her independent free soul. She talks to the old Duke, who is amazed to find such ideas in a farm parlour: "Women, the most widely separated of different nations, speaking different languages, holding little or no communication with each other, are all thinking on the same lines, making the same efforts, clamouring for the same rights, so long withheld from them. . . . It is evolutionary. It is the outcome of a great involuntary effort of the human race to lift itself a step higher in the scale of its development. The woman who can think is endowed with a sense of the ludicrous, the sense that is at once the most destructive of abuses and the most constructive of remedies." She is going out into the world to earn her living and be self-respecting. The old Duke, dismayed, speaks of danger and risks. "'Danger and risk raise the spirit of the modern woman,' she said, smiling." One expects that Ella Banks will be the most interesting person in the next volume, which will be welcome very soon.

The Declension of Henry D'Albiac†

There was a great crowd in Downing Street, surging out into Whitehall, and Henry D'Albiac could not get along. His annoyance at being stopped was changed to indignation when he saw a fair young girl being roughly handled by big policemen. He was only an ordinary gay young man-about-town, but being half-French by birth, was naturally horrified to see a woman so treated. Equally naturally he struck one of the policemen. The police let go their prisoner to arrest him, but the tumultuous crowd overwhelms the police, and Henry and the Suffragette are able to extricate themselves. To his amazement, the girl, instead of thanking her rescuer, explains or complains that this was her only chance of getting to prison, as she will be too busy for the rest of the year. The bewildered young man presently finds himself, to his intense mortification, conducting a torn, dishevelled, and hatless Suffragette home to her studio in Chelsea. He leaves her, half-disgusted, half-puzzled, but really fascinated by her originality. She is a portrait painter, and as he sits for her he gradually gets a glimpse into a new world of women who live and are real. Bit by bit he finds his conventional notions dropping from him. The women of his own kind, even the high-born girl to whom he was engaged, grow to seem more and more meaningless and vapid, till at the end of the book we leave his old friends aghast and mourning over his "declension"; but the little Chelsea artist rejoicing that she has made a new man. The story is light, but brightly written and very readable.

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* "Adnam's Orchard." By Sarah Grand. (Heinemann. 6s.)
† "The Declension of Henry D'Albiac." By V. Goldie. (Heinemann. 6s.)

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1913.

WHY WE OPPOSE A REFERENDUM

An attempt is being made to revive the proposal to submit Woman Suffrage to a Referendum. As this suggestion emanates from the *Westminster Gazette*, which is known to be in close touch with the Prime Minister, it merits our very careful attention.

A Referendum is commended to the man in the street as a suitable means of "solving" the Woman Suffrage issue for two reasons. Firstly, it is urged that unless the majority of women really want the vote it ought not to be "forced on the sex as a whole by a noisy minority." Secondly, it is said that as the question of Woman Suffrage has never formed the dividing line between parties at a general election, Parliament has never received a "mandate" to deal with it, and therefore the question ought not to be settled by Parliament without a further appeal to the electorate direct.

At the outset there is exhibited in these arguments an extraordinary confusion of thought. Wherever a Referendum is in operation it is decisive, not informative. A question is submitted to a certain body of people in order that they may settle the issue, not in order that they may express an opinion which others may carry out or disregard. It follows, therefore, that a Referendum must be both solitary and final. You cannot have a Referendum to "find out" whether the majority of women want the vote and another to "find out" whether the majority of the present electorate want them to have it. You must make up your mind whether you propose to submit the question for final settlement to (1) a purely female electorate, *or* (2) a purely male electorate, *or* (3) an electorate combined of men and women. Moreover, as the selection of one or other of these alternatives is of the essence of the problem, it is merely clouding the issue to talk vaguely of the merits of a Referendum unless it is clearly stated which Referendum it is suggested should be taken.

While we are waiting for an answer to this question from the advocates of the proposal, we can use our time to advantage by showing up the fallacy underlying each and all of the three alternatives which are possible. Firstly, as to the proposal to submit the question to an electorate of women. We pass over the inherent difficulties of selecting what women shall be consulted and of how the machinery for consulting them shall be built up, and content ourselves with stating that the verdict of such a Referendum would not be accepted either by Suffragists or by anti-Suffragists. The organised women of the country who in practically every society in which they are banded together—whether as women doctors, as nurses, as headmistresses, as teachers, as co-operators, as professional women, or as women belonging to political parties—have expressed by an overwhelming vote their demand for the franchise would obviously not consent to be shut out from it, even if a majority of their unorganised sisters have not yet become conscious of their need to possess it. The anti-Suffragists, on the other hand, who think that the destinies of the nation ought to be entrusted to men alone, would not consent to allow this important question of the franchise to be decided by an electorate composed of women only.

We turn now to the second proposition, which is the one which anti-Suffragists and Liberal party politicians really favour. In the event of a Woman Suffrage Bill being carried, or in the event of a Woman Suffrage amendment being carried to a Franchise Bill, it is suggested that a rider shall be added to make the enfranchisement of women dependent on its subsequent acceptance by a Referendum of men. Any such rider would in our opinion be entirely out of order, and would probably be so ruled by the Chairman. Apart, however, from this technical objection, we reject altogether the suggestion that the issue of Woman Suffrage should be decided by a male Referendum, for the simple reason that when an unenfranchised class becomes conscious of its exclusion from power and demands the franchise, it is not a sufficient answer to that demand to say that the enfranchised classes are opposed to it. What is an answer—or at least a correct statement of fact—is that enfranchisement must be brought about through the normal constitutional machinery of the country; and if a Referendum is part of that machinery (as, for instance, it is in America), then the new franchise proposals must be accepted by a Referendum of the existing electorate before they become law. But this is not the case in this country, and we object altogether to the creation of a special additional test to apply solely to Woman Suffrage and not to any other of the questions of the day.

In order to appreciate the nature of our objection it is necessary to realise that for the sake of stability every country provides certain safeguards against hasty or ill-considered changes in the Constitution. In some countries a two-thirds majority in the Chamber is required; in others, as in Denmark, it is a second passage of the Bill after a general election; in others it is a Referendum of the electorate. In the United Kingdom the safeguards consist of certain procedure in the House of Commons which gives to the Cabinet almost indefinite power to delay and prevent the passage of any but their own Bills. If a Referendum and not the autocratic power of the Cabinet had been the constitutional obstacle to franchise reform in this country, the Conciliation Bill would have been carried in 1910 or 1911, if indeed a measure of equal suffrage had not so long ago as the eighties of last century found its way on to the Statute Book. These Bills were not passed because the Cabinet blocked them.

The suggestion now is that after the Cabinet has been forced so far to give way as to make certain pledges to women, and after it has deliberately mixed up the woman suffrage issue with the general question of franchise reform, it shall be entitled to call the Referendum to its aid in the hope that this final obstacle may prevent women getting the vote. We absolutely refuse to regard the proposal in any other light than as a political device of dishonest men to enable them to break their pledges with impunity.

It is not necessary to waste words over the third form of the Referendum to which we referred at the beginning of this article—a form in which both men and women would be consulted. It possesses almost every disadvantage of either of the other two. It is impracticable and indefensible on almost any theory of constitutional government, and it would satisfy no one.

To a Referendum of women, to a Referendum of men, to a Referendum of men and women combined we are steadfastly opposed. We insist that the question of Woman Suffrage shall be treated on its merits by the present Parliament of this country. We claim the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's solemn pledge made before the last general election that this Parliament should have the opportunity of dealing with the question, and of dealing with it effectively.

THE BABE

By Evelyn Sharp

"Well," said Hebe's visitor, not sorry to evacuate the very uncomfortable office chair, with which Hebe sought to discourage visitors, "here's your 'Anti' friend coming, so I'll be off. You won't forget about the second speaker for my meeting, will you?"

Hebe did not answer at once; and when she did, it was not to mention Mrs. Sidgwick's drawing-room meeting. She glanced out of the window at the woman who was coming across the street, and then back again at her visitor with a humorous look that held the suspicion of a challenge in it.

"Cicely isn't an Anti," she said. "She's an artist. She thinks a woman can't be an artist *and* a Suffragette."

"But you think so, do you not?" said Mary Sidgwick earnestly. Hers was a simple nature, and not imaginative; and the psychology of the mind that held opposite views to her own was entirely outside her comprehension.

"I?" said Hebe. "Oh, I think you can't be an artist *without* being a Suffragette."

Her visitor looked bewildered. "Of course, I should like to feel as you do—of course!" she said. "But surely, Cicely Orme is a very successful artist, is she not? Only the other day the *Times* said in its first notice of the Academy—the *Times*, you know!—that Miss Orme's treatment of her subject was quite—quite—well, I forget the exact words, but I know it meant a great deal from the *Times*."

"It would," agreed Hebe. Then she went across the room to meet Cicely, who had walked straight in without accepting the mediation of the office boy, and offered her the second-best visitor's chair hospitably. "Well, Babe?" she said, by way of a greeting, while Cicely, hesitating between the office chair and the office table, finally chose the latter as offering in picturesqueness what it lacked in everything else as a seat.

Mary Sidgwick, looking from one to the other, wondered, not for the first time, why these two women were friends. Of course, she knew they had been students together, long ago, in Paris; but that did not explain why Hebe, who had drifted completely out of her old artist set since she went to prison for the cause, should maintain the same friendly relations with Cicely Orme, nor why Cicely should refuse to let the movement come between them, though she put her painting before everything in the world, even before her passionate love of life and people and pleasant worldly ways, which, by contrast with her seriousness over her work, had earned her the nickname of "The Babe." Why was it, wondered the other woman? "I haven't seen you for ages, Miss Orme," was all she said aloud, however.

"That isn't exactly my fault, is it?" laughed the Babe. She always spoke with a laugh in her voice; it disconcerted some people, but Mrs. Sidgwick found it attractive and responded to it instantly.

"Are we so strenuous?" she smiled. "I suppose, while we've been hatching militant plots you've been painting your charming——"

"No," said Cicely, unexpectedly. "I've not painted a stroke for a month. My baby has taken up every inch of my time."

"Ah!" said Hebe, who was boiling fresh water on the oil stove. "How is your baby getting on?"

Mrs. Sidgwick was speechless with astonishment, and they both laughed. "Cicely adopted her charwoman's seventh baby, about a month ago," explained Hebe. "She thought—what was it you thought, Babe?"

"It was like this," said Cicely, selecting a macaroon with discrimination from a plateful of rather dusty biscuits; "every Suffragist I know—except this old thing, bless her!—tried to make me a Suffragist. I let them try, and didn't say anything, one way or another. Then, every Anti I know came along and said that I evidently wasn't a Suffragist, so I must be an Anti. That seemed sound, I thought—at all events, it was the line of least resistance. So I agreed, and went on painting pictures quite happily, till one of them dragged me to a meeting, where they said things."

"What things?" asked Mary Sidgwick, who had quite forgotten that she meant to leave on Cicely's arrival.

"Oh, the things they always say, I believe. About woman's natural sphere, and what it means to the race and the Empire, and all that," said the Babe. "Well, it made me rather uncomfortable, because, of course, *my* sphere isn't a bit like that. You can't say a picture is any real help to the race or the Empire, however well it's hung. So I came home a little worried about it all, not being a beast, at least, not a bad beast, though my job *is* painting and not statistics. Really, I'm *not* a beast, Hebe."

The laugh still throbbed in her voice, but Hebe looked round sharply from the oil stove. "What's happened?" her eyes said, though she did not speak.

"Well, just as I was feeling worried," continued Cicely, "my eye fell on a leaflet about infantile mortality that some idiot—I beg your pardon, some Suffragist—had sent me. I didn't mean to read it; I've made it a rule not to read disturbing statistics, because it spoils my work. But the thing caught my eye, and before I knew where I was I had read every word of it. There it all was, stamped on my mind, and—and it did spoil my work, Hebe."

"Poor Babe!" murmured Hebe, setting a cup of pale, hot tea near her on the table.

"It was hopeless," sighed Cicely. "There I was—neither fish nor fry. If I were a Suffragist I should be doing something definite to save other people's babies; if I were an Anti I should be having babies myself—at least, I *think* that was what the meeting meant, but the speakers were so delicate in their way of putting things that you couldn't always tell. Then my charwoman came in; and she'd just had her eighth baby, and had lost all her work; and her husband was out of a job, and they were all starving. So, with my head a confused jumble of Suffrage statistics and Anti arguments, I hit upon a perfectly brilliant way out of it all, and offered to adopt the charwoman's seventh baby. That was the last but one," added the Babe, for the benefit of Hebe's other visitor, who was still speechless. "I've often kept dogs, you know, but never babies; and I thought it would be safer to adopt one that had got over distemper."

"Did you—did you *really* adopt it?" asked Mary Sidgwick, who was a polite creature, however sorely tried.

"Oh, rather!" was the emphatic reply. "The charwoman quite saw it was the best arrangement for her and for me and the baby—to say nothing of the race and the Empire. So we signed papers and things, and the baby came, one fine morning, and it didn't mind much, after the first week; and it got beautifully fat and bonny—and as for me, I was having the time of my life——"

"You Babe!" scoffed Hebe.

"The time of my life," repeated Cicely, "when I came home, one afternoon, to find the baby gone."

"Gone?" echoed Hebe.

"Are you sure it was ever there?" asked Mrs. Sidgwick, having found the whole narration an amusing story and nothing more. She thought it odd for anyone to make up such a story, but concluded that artistic people were like that.

"I suppose the mother had just taken it?" said Hebe, who seemed, to her surprise, to be treating the story quite seriously.

Cicely nodded ruefully. "The mother came back this morning (without the darling baby), and just went for me; all about meddling with poor working mothers instead of giving them a chance of keeping their own babies alive. That Suffrage leaflet was a Sunday school hymn-book compared to some of the home truths she gave me! I wish she'd go and talk like that to—to Lord Cromer."

In the pause that followed, Mrs. Sidgwick became conscious of two things; first, that Cicely's wild story was true, and secondly, that Hebe wanted to be alone with her. For that matter, however, they both seemed to have forgotten that anybody else was there. Cicely was still selecting dusty biscuits from the office plate, while Hebe, having created an atmosphere by putting out the oil stove, was clearing up her desk preparatory to going home.

"Hebe," said the Babe, munching biscuits, "if I'm not an Anti, does that mean I'm a Suffragist?"

"Yes," said Hebe, filing letters rapidly.

"I was afraid of it," sighed Cicely.

The laugh had gone out of her voice, and Mary Sidgwick came and took both her hands impetuously.

"I am so glad you've joined us!" she exclaimed. "And oh, how splendidly glad you must be feeling, too!"

"Shall I feel glad soon, Hebe?" asked the Babe, when the other visitor had at last gone and the two women were alone. "I don't feel glad now."

Hebe tore up papers savagely and flung the bits wide of the waste-paper basket. "Glad?" she echoed. "It's going to drag you in two and tear you to pieces and break up your happiness in little bits. Do you suppose, because you've got outside yourself for a minute and are sitting a little way off, admiring the look of your artistic soul, that it isn't going to *hurt* you presently?"

"No, I don't suppose it. Haven't I been watching you for the last five years?" retorted Cicely. The laugh came back into her voice as she slipped off the table and faced the woman who stood at the other end of it, tearing up old letters, leaflets, anything she could lay hands on. "You knew I should do this sooner or later," added the Babe.

"Yes," said Hebe. "I've been waiting for it to happen. I wanted it to happen—more than I ever wanted anything for another person. But I don't know how to bear the thought of your suffering what I've suffered since I gave up my painting."

"Do you think I shan't go through with it then?" cried the Babe indignantly. She came round the table and slipped her arm through Hebe's. "It's all right, old Hebe," she said. "There must have been something very wrong with my pictures, or they wouldn't have sold so well. This thing is going to help me to find out what was wrong with them." She stopped and laughed her old, gay laugh. "It's splendid to have discovered that it's better to have no time to paint the right pictures than to have all the time there is to paint the wrong ones," she cried suddenly.

Hebe swung herself away and filled her mouth with hatpins while she put on her hat in front of a framed map of England in Parliamentary constituencies.

"I think you'll go through with it all right," she observed.

A FIVE MINUTES' SPEECH

By Henry W. Nevinson

Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer, those interesting survivals of a departed age, have published 15 reasons against Woman Suffrage. I have 1,500 reasons for; and, having only five minutes, I will take as many as I can at full gallop, like hurdles in a steeplechase.

I demand an equal Suffrage for women:

(1) **Because** I believe in Representative Government, and I think it is time this country tried the experiment.

(2) **Because** if women cannot fight, they ought to possess every possible constitutional right to compensate for the want of that inestimable privilege.

(3) **Because** woman's place is said to be the home, and Parliament is continually interfering with it.

(4) **Because** worthy gentlemen legislate on flannelette, and don't know the difference between flannelette and flannel.

(5) **Because** woman's care is the child, and worthy gentlemen legislate upon eugenics and mental deficiency, of which they are no judge.

(6) **Because** it is ludicrous to invite women to administer laws which they can neither make nor amend.

(7) **Because** I hate to see Members of Parliament filching part of their pay out of women's pockets without their leave.

(8) **Because** inhuman officialdom is the great danger of present legislation, and women hate inhuman officialdom.

(9) **Because** something must be wrong when a man like my friend, George Lansbury, is kept out of Parliament, and people like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald publicly rejoice at it.

(10) **Because** Lord George Hamilton tells us a sweet and womanly woman can twist any man round her little finger, and I object to being twisted round a finger, however little.

(11) **Because** I hate the back stairs and the habits of the coaxing cat.

(12) **Because** it is degrading to talk of chivalry when we talk of educated women, and a lie when we talk of working women.

(13) **Because** the trickery and cowardice of the Liberal Government in dealing with this question have turned all honest minds in its favour.

(14) **Because** Cabinet Ministers order and defend the abomination of forcible feeding, and that shows upon what a brutish basis government at present stands.

(15) **Because** there must be something in a cause for which over a thousand honourable and peace-loving women have gone to prison.

(16) **Because** a woman goes to prison a suffragette and comes out a living flame.

(17) **Because** there must be an evil conscience abroad among us when Englishmen and Welshmen tear to pieces and indecently assault women for demanding liberty, and Liberal Cabinet Ministers hound them on.

(18) **Because** I hate people who display enthusiasm over freedom at a distance, but are deaf to the cry for freedom at their door.

(19) **Because**, owing to the delay of this justice, our country is suffering from blood-poisoning.

(20) **Because** a Nonconformist Minister has denounced the suffragettes as bipeds, but I, who am only a biped myself, yet have the vote.

(21) **Because** the demand for the vote is part of a far bigger movement for the overthrow of a stupid and pernicious ideal.

(22) **Because** it is a step to the time when a woman may say, "I am the captain of my soul and body."

(23) **Because** we have against us all the dead forces of custom, prejudice, comfort, and sensuality, and on our side we have the vital forces of reason (which they cannot understand), honour (which they cannot feel), and passion which shall devour them like flame.

(24) **Because** I feel a strong personal affection for every true suffragist, man or woman.

(25) And **Because** I hate every anti-suffragist, man or woman, as I hate the very devil.

"CHRISTIANS, AWAKE!"

The following comments on the leading article in our last week's issue have reached us from leading clergy of various denominations:—

FROM THE REV. HUGH B. CHAPMAN, M.A.

(Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy)

I write to thank you heartily for your leader entitled "Christians, Awake!" and to express my sense of its fairness as exemplified in many of the most fervent souls who, in the history of the Church, have striven for the good of their generation. You are entirely correct in recognising the difference of the active and the passive temperament, whilst crediting both with a single desire to forward God's glory and to show forth their conception of love according to that temperament. The world is apt to forget that the spirit is as instinctively moved to strive against the flesh as the flesh against the spirit, and the cynicism which trades on the meekness inherent in Christian discipleship fails to remember that there is such a thing as righteous anger amounting to a declaration of war, and quite compatible with personal humility. For myself, I should question if the "blessing of the troops" by ministers of religion has often taken place save on condition that the cause was a popular one, for which reason the analogy is hardly to be expected, certainly at the outset of the present crusade. Where, however, no personal advantage is desired, and a great wave of pity sweeps over the enlightened of a sex on account of its innate tendency to enslavement and enslaving, from which the exceptions have broken free, let alone the manifest injustice of centuries of cruel degradation of that same sex by man for his own carnal ends, then the benediction of the Church might surely be claimed by the pioneers of a movement destined to bring about its salvation, though possibly through pain.

I would add, with all respect, that I can conceive of an altruism which draws the sword without any desire to evade the price of its consequent law, holding even its technically just condemnation cheap provided later it may prove possible to sign a treaty without treachery to the instinct of redress without revenge, conspicuous in every reforming spirit which is true to itself. The only other word I would say at the commencement of a New Year is that the sword thus unsheathed must be kept exceptionally bright, that the war must be waged without the smallest suspicion of meanness or of hurt save to declared foes; that all commanders, whether at the van, centre, or base, should be united in a common self-eclipse; that each of the troops should bear their share of privation, self-denial, obloquy, or shame; that there should be the same desire to suppress all mention of honourable wounds, as in the case of Francis to hide the Stigmata; that a spirit of gaiety and fraternisation should distinguish every regiment; that the ultimate object of woman's release and elevation should continually be borne in mind; that persistent charity and perfect courtesy should be shown to those whose eyes have not as yet been opened to the regeneration for both man and woman throughout the world involved in the campaign; that "Sons of Thunder" should ever keep before themselves their true evolution into Apostles of Love; and that, above all, there should not be the slightest sense of fear as to the final result, considering the motto emblazoned on our flag: "Christo Duce, et Auspice Christo."

FROM THE VEN. BASIL WILBERFORCE D.D.

(Archdeacon of Westminster)

I confess I can see no "spiritual side" to setting fire to theatres and destroying in the post presents sent to the old folks at home. As a worker for Woman Suffrage for twenty-five years I deeply deplore these acts of violence.

FROM THE REV. F. B. MEYER, B.A.

(Minister of Regent's Park Chapel, N.W.)

Even when I have felt most vexed at what seemed to be the wantonness of the Suffragette attacks on Society, I have believed that at the heart of the movement there has been a true desire to acquire political power for the achieving of certain noble ideals, which promised abundant compensation. I have often thought that it would have been wiser to have made those results more apparent; so that it could have been generally recognised that political power was being sought, not so much for the purpose of levelling woman to an equality with man, as for the safeguarding of the home, the school, the street, the girlhood and wifehood of our nation. Such ideals, which have always been dear to our noblest womanhood, touch the heart of our commonwealth, and are a worthy *oriflamme* to the movement. There is, however, in my judgment, a vast difference between the violation of arbitrary enactments, which have no moral sanction, and which naturally lie in the path of progress—as when King Darius decreed that no one was to pray for thirty days—and the violation of laws and usages which lie altogether outside the sphere of your necessary operations. It is here that one has felt out of sympathy with the campaign. Forgive my freedom in saying what is in my heart. We are fighting in the twilight, but the day will break.

FROM THE REV. S. A. BARNETT, D.C.L.

(Canon of Westminster)

It would be impertinent to repeat arguments you must have often heard, but as you ask my opinion, I would say that law-breaking does not seem to me to be a qualification for law-making, and that the use of force is only justified when reason cannot make itself heard in free speech.

FROM THE REV. W. F. COBB, D.D.

(Rector of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, E.C.)

I have read your leading article entitled "Christians, Awake!" with entire approval, both because of its proclamation that there are circumstances which not only justify but call for active as well as passive opposition, and because of its demand that principle of the highest and surest order shall inspire and guide such opposition.

We are living in days when shameless tergiversation and unprincipled self-seeking in high political quarters go hand in hand with a superstitious idolatry of State-machinery, the end of which is the slavery of the individual citizen. Hence, I cannot but regard the revolt of women as one hopeful sign of a better day, as the revolt of the workers is another. All who value freedom and live for the ideal as alone assigning its value and meaning to the actual, must wish you God-speed.

FROM THE REV. F. M. GREEN, B.D.

(Vicar of St. Mark's, Tollington Park)

Certainly, sainthood is positive, not negative. It is compact of two great qualities, penitence and devotion.

Tennyson's companion poems, "St. Agnes' Eve" and "Sir Galahad," beautifully represent these qualities in action and combine to form an almost perfect picture of true sainthood. All experience teaches that the true way to keep ourselves unspotted from the world is by ministering to the world's needs. We escape from the City of Destruction when, with desire to rescue others, we plunge into its foulest haunts. And we are pledged to active service—"to fight manfully under Christ's banner." It is also beyond question that the "final arbiter of right and wrong for the true Christian is not the desire of the State, but the individual conscience"; and no person can read history without perceiving that there have been occasions when resistance to the law, even to the point of armed rebellion, has been the only course open to those who cared supremely for the best things in life.

Therefore it has always seemed to me that the off-hand condemnation of militancy as unchristian is impossible for any thoughtful and candid person; whilst the facile commendation of militancy as a "winning game" is absolutely immoral. The ethics of militancy depend upon the militant. There is a passage in an important MS. of St. Luke's Gospel which, though not accounted as part of the original, may well represent a fragment of oral tradition earlier than any written Gospel. I commend this utterance of our Lord, if such it be, to the attention alike of militants and their critics: "On the same day, seeing a certain man working on the Sabbath, He (Jesus) said to him, Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, cursed art thou and a transgressor of the Law."

Costume Bargains at Peter Robinson's of Regent Street

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R.S. "ELAINE"—Charming Evening Gown in soft pale shades of nattier blue Silk Chiffon Velvet, Bodice draped with one-sided effect which is edged with Kolinski Fur, the other half being composed of beautiful silver lace mounted on palest pink Chiffon. It is finished at waist with a silver rose. In all evening colours and black.
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Fashionable Coats and Skirts—all different in style—in the newest materials—Velour de Laine, Ratines, Whipcords, Coatings, and Velveteen. Above are two typical examples Originally 6 to 10 guineas. Now .. 60/-

R.S. 201.—Amethyst Striped Velour de Laine Model, cut on the newest and most becoming lines, smart collar and cuffs of caracul cloth, trimmed cord and amethyst buttons. Corselet Skirt. Sale Price 60/-

R.S. 202.—Coat and Skirt in black and blue striped fancy tweed, cut on particularly becoming lines, trimmed black velvet collar and cuffs and silk froggings. Corselet Skirt. Sale Price .. 60/-

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PROSPECTS OF THE FRANCHISE BILL

Will it Come Under the Protection of the Parliament Act?—Threatened Substitution of Plural Voting Bill—The Government's Crowded Programme

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, December 31, Sir Henry Craik asked the Prime Minister whether the Solicitor-General expressed the view of the Government when he said, in the London Opera House on December 4, that the Franchise Bill, with a woman suffrage Amendment, was secure in enjoying the full advantage of the Parliament Act; and whether a Bill, altered in a sense contradictory of a previous decision of the present House of Commons, would be one to which the Government would be prepared, without any further appeal to the people, to apply the provisions of the Parliament Act?

The Prime Minister: My hon. and learned friend, in the speech to which the hon. member refers, was, I am informed, careful to point out that what he was saying did not constitute any new declaration made either on behalf of the Government or of myself. I must refer the hon. gentleman to my own public declarations on the subject, to which at present I have nothing to add.

Sir H. Craik: Can the right hon. gentleman give a plain answer to the latter part of the question, as to whether the Parliament Act would apply to the case where this current Parliament had altered its decision?

The Prime Minister: I think we had better discuss that question when we come to the Bill itself. In the meantime I refer the hon. member to my declaration.

Mr. Clynes: Would the right hon. gentleman say what chance such a Bill would have if the Parliament Act did not apply?

The Prime Minister: That is a matter of opinion.

Lord Robert Cecil: Can the Prime Minister indicate to the House when the Franchise Bill will be taken?

The Prime Minister: No, sir; I should like to have notice of that question.

(*The "previous decision" referred to above is the defeat of the Conciliation Bill by a majority of fourteen on March 28 last.*)

In addition to the renewal of the proposal to submit Woman Suffrage to a Referendum, a further possible means to be adopted for preventing the inclusion of women in the Franchise Bill has been alluded to by Sir Henry Lucy, in an article signed by him in last Sunday's *Observer*, in which, after pointing out the congested state of the Government's programme, he frankly foretells the probable substitution of a Plural Voting Bill consisting of one clause. We give the following extracts from his article:—

"The Franchise Bill significantly stands in the perilous position of the third place. . . . Everything will depend upon the time occupied by the various stages of the Franchise Bill, and what may follow upon dealing with one of the issues raised by it. Early in Committee the question of Women's Suffrage will obtrude itself. There is no doubt as to the attitude that will be assumed towards it by the Government. As far as party discipline is concerned the question will remain an open one, every member voting in accordance with the dictates of conscience and considerations of expediency. . . . As at present arranged the struggle will be opened on the threshold of Committee by moving to strike out the word "male" from the enfranchising clause. Should this be defeated His Majesty's Ministers will be able to breathe freely. If it be carried, and consequential amendments are approved, crisis will come and chaos develop. Mr. Asquith's personal position is clearly defined. He believes that the admission of women to the Parliamentary Register would be disastrous. At the same time, if by untrammelled vote Parliament declares in favour of the principle he will bow his head in the House of Rimmon.

Cabinet Resignations

"Other of his colleagues are not likely to display equal measure of judicious flexibility One in particular does not hesitate to declare that he will be no party to administering an Act which gives Parliamentary votes to persons who go about the country at hours when they ought to be in bed making attempt to burn down ancestral homes. Possibly by accident the phrasing of this declaration is deftly chosen. Even should the Suffragist Amendment be carried no member of the present Ministry will be called upon to administer an Act embodying it. Under the most favoured circumstances no such Act will be added to the Statute Book before the Session of 1914, after which, their work (like old Caspar's) done, they will go to the country and ask for its blessing upon it. Ill-natured people would, however, be disposed to regard seizure of this saving plank as unheroic. Accepting that view, the Cabinet Minister in question would be bound to tender his resignation. It is difficult to see how colleagues equally opposed to Women's Suffrage could refrain from joining him in his retirement. Taken at its best the resignation of even a single Cabinet Minister at the present juncture would be an embarrassing incident.

Plural Voting Instead

"If, as is possible, the Franchise Bill be wrecked amid these shoals, a purpose dear to the heart of Ministers and stubbornly championed by their following in Parliament and in the country, will not suffer. As was stated in this column at the opening of the Session, Ministers are resolved before the next General Election to abolish Plural Voting, whether as part of a comprehensive franchise scheme or by itself. In the former case it will be necessary to send up to the House of Lords somewhere about the middle of February a Bill enacting prohibition. A single clause will suffice, and with the assistance of the closure it can be passed in time to meet the requirements of the Parliament Act and the necessities of the financial year."

WILL THERE BE TIME?

The *Times*, in its leading article of December 30, alluding to the three great Bills to be sent up to the Lords before the middle of February, says:—

"The Franchise Bill is the most uncertain of the three. It is complicated by the question of woman suffrage, which is left to the House, but may prove extremely embarrassing to the Government. . . . The situation is full of pitfalls."

In the same issue, the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Times* deals thus with the time difficulty:—

"To fulfil their intentions the Government must give the shortest possible time to the Franchise and Registration Bill. The suggestion has been put about on the Ministerial side that nine or ten days should suffice for this Bill. If ten days are taken, one would be for the guillotine resolution, and it is not improbable that two free days would first be given in Committee so that the woman suffrage amendments could be debated outside the timetable. This would then leave four days for the remainder of the Committee stage, two for Report, and one for third reading. If this rigorous proposal is carried out, and if one Friday is given to the consideration of the Lords' amendments to the Scottish Temperance Bill, the House of Commons can send the last of its three chief Bills to the House of Lords on the night of Wednesday, February 12, but not a day earlier, unless Saturdays are commandeered, or unless the Franchise Bill is to be forced through without any debate at all.

"The Opposition, of course, will regard a proposal such as is here discussed, to pass the Franchise Bill through all its stages in nine days, as in the last degree deplorable. Such a measure, for extending the franchise, for abolishing plural voting and university representation, for improving registration and electoral machinery, and reforming the electoral qualification, would but a short time ago have been the chief Bill of the Session. The question now is whether the Government can afford to give to it less than a fortnight—to such shifts has the working of the Parliament Act reduced the House of Commons. It is, of course, expected that this Bill will be entered on before the Welsh Disestablishment Bill has left the Commons, and Mr. Asquith has indicated January 20 as a likely day on which to go into Committee on the Franchise Bill. The woman suffrage difficulty and the attacks of the militant suffragists will thus be soon with us."

DATE OF THE FRANCHISE BILL

The *Daily Telegraph*, in its issue of December 30, while making due allowance for the possibility of an alteration in the dates of the later days allotted to the Welsh Church Bill, gives Monday, January 27, as the last day for the Report Stage of that measure, and Tuesday, January 28, as the date of the Third Reading. Proceeding on the assumption that this will be the course of the Government programme, it goes on to give the following time-table for the Franchise Bill, to which ten days are thus allotted:—

JANUARY.	
Wednesday, 29th.—Closure resolution	1st
Thursday, 30th.—Committee stage...	2nd
Friday, 31st.—Committee stage	3rd
FEBRUARY.	
Monday, 3rd.—Committee stage ...	4th
Tuesday, 4th.—Committee stage ...	5th
Wednesday, 5th.—Committee stage	6th
Thursday, 6th.—Committee stage ...	7th
Friday, 7th.—Report stage	8th
Monday, 10th.—Report stage	9th
Tuesday, 11th.—Third reading	10th

A Special Correspondent to the *Globe* assumes that a similar time-table will be followed, and goes on to say:—"This leaves at the most nine or ten days for the measure to gerrymander the franchise. There can be no doubt that the Opposition will strenuously oppose the guillotine resolution under which such a revolutionary charge will be attempted, especially when time has to be found for debating the Woman Suffrage amendment. . . . It may safely be prophesied that the other Bills which Mr. Asquith was sanguine might be passed will have to be dropped, and that the debate on the Franchise Bill will have to be subjected to an even more drastic guillotine than has been adopted in the case of the Home Rule Bill and the Welsh Church Bill."

THE WORD "MALE."

Mr. F. D. Acland, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has sent a letter to the January number of the *Englishwoman*, in which he says:—

"It is rumoured that the anti-suffragists in the House of Commons do not intend to divide the House upon Sir Edward Grey's amendment to omit the word 'male.' If there be such an intention, and it be carried out, anti-suffragists will no doubt explain that they regard this amendment not as a positive but a permissive one. They would say: 'All right, if the House wants an opportunity to decide for or against particular plans for woman suffrage, we have no objection. Let's get to practical business—we don't want to fight on preliminaries.' Now, what is our position in view of this possible attitude? Let us take honest account both of our strength and our weakness. Three points are to be noted—1, we cannot force a division on Sir Edward Grey's amendment; 2, we cannot maintain that the amendment is more than an enabling one without agreeing to the contention that it is a womanhood suffrage amendment. At the most, a vote in its favour is a declaratory vote on the principle; but, 3, we are not 'out' this time for a vote on principle, but on practice.

"It has been the weakness of our cause in the House of Commons hitherto that we have had votes *ad nauseam* on the principle of woman suffrage, but no vote on carrying the principle into actual practice. Essentially it does not matter to us at this juncture whether or not we obtain another vote on the bare principle. In fact, what we should gain by carrying out Sir Edward Grey's amendment without a division is simply a demonstration that the 'antis' dare not challenge a division in the House on the principle. They rely now solely on the hope of splitting up our forces and beating us in detail on the question of precisely what classes of women and how many women are to be enfranchised."

The writer concludes by urging all Suffragist M.P.'s to concentrate on the so-called Dickinson amendment.

THE REFERENDUM

In the following letter, which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* on December 27, Mrs. Swanwick clearly points out that the Referendum principle, if established in an unofficial amendment to the Franchise Bill, would affect the whole basis of representative government:—

To the Editor of the "Westminster Gazette."

Sir,—I note that in your issue of December 20 your Parliamentary correspondent suggests that there are men on the Treasury Bench who think that "a Bill containing votes for women should not be passed under the Parliament Act." This is, of course, not the view of Mr. Lloyd George, who has repeatedly asserted that women would have the benefit of this Act. But it is my particular object to draw attention to an important ruling of the Speaker on June 11, 1912, in connection with the Home Rule Bill. With reference to a suggestion that the establishment of an Irish Parliament should be subject to a poll of electors, he quoted Speaker Peel as follows:—

"The second deals with the *ad referendum* principle, and this, I need not say, is the instruction which has given me most anxiety; but I have come to the conclusion that an *ad referendum* is a matter of such transcendent importance that it could not be brought within the scope of the Bill by an instruction to the Committee. I know that the *ad referendum* has been included in the provisions of some Private Bills, enabling the ratepayers to decide by a vote whether or not they should adopt a particular Act which imposed a charge upon them. But this instruction is a proposal to enable the electors to override the decision of this House; to go over the heads of the elected representatives of the people and to submit to the electors generally whether a Bill of this great magnitude should come into force or not. That, I think, is quite beyond the scope of the Bill, and could not be brought within the scope of the Bill by an instruction."

It would indeed be a disastrous precedent for constitutional usage if a change so vast in its effect as the Referendum could be introduced by an unofficial amendment to an unofficial amendment to a Franchise Bill. This would affect the very basis of representative government in a way entirely alien to the Bill, and not only is, but ought by every canon of reasonable legislation to be, out of order.—Yours, &c., H. M. SWANWICK.

Kew, December 23.

WOMEN, AND THE NEW YEAR

The Archbishop of Canterbury, preaching in his Cathedral last Sunday evening from Deut. xxxii. 47, "It is not a vain thing for you because it is your life," chose a text that might well have inspired a sermon on Woman Suffrage. In his survey of the past year's events, and of the prospects of the year to come, the Primate made the following reference to the Votes for Women movement:—

"The conditions do change. Are we handling the changes reverently and prayerfully? If, for example, a huge and far-reaching question such as the right share of Christian womanhood in the duties and responsibilities of the community is to be solved rightly, it must be because the problem, which is partly old and partly new, is approached Christianly and reverently by both men and women who are deliberately on their guard against giving way to levity or superciliousness on the one side, and against childish and ignorant precipitancy on the other, in a matter that is infinitely grave and that ramifies out into wide and varied fields of difficulty and hopefulness and peril. The safeguard lies in the recognition of the sacred character of every such question, and the fatuous folly of handling lightly on either side a perplexity which is perhaps as far-reaching as any question of our time. It is in its many-sidedness a problem which should send us humbly to our knees."

A Militant Message

The Archbishop's New Year letter to the clergy and laity of the Diocese of Canterbury contains the following militant passage: "It has never been in quietest times that the most fruitful work was done. Stir may develop into mischief, but at least it betokens life. Nearly 400 years ago a very wise man, Sir Thomas More, whose times were not of the most peaceable sort, wrote thus:—

"What part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can . . . You must not forsake the shippe in a tempest because you cannot keep down the windes . . . but studye and endeavour as much as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handsomelye to the purpose: and that which you cannot turn to good so to order that it be not very badde. For it is not possible for all things to be well unless all men were good. Which I think will not be yet this good many yeares."

The *Times*, in its review of the year 1912, takes the opportunity to try to belittle the Suffrage movement. As will be seen from the second of the two passages we select for reproduction, the inaccuracy of statement is such as to destroy its own force:—

"The Conciliation Bill, which was defeated on March 28 by a majority of fourteen, was supposed to represent a sort of concentration of the different sections demanding woman suffrage. As a matter of fact, there was no real unanimity, and the measure, if passed, would have afforded no solution. It is not even probable that it would have averted the puerile excesses of the militant section—the smashing of windows, the senseless interruptions of meetings, and the destruction of letters—which have ended by embittering the feelings of the public. . . . The question has played no real part in by-elections, and in the single by-election where it was forced artificially into prominence the feeling of the constituency and of the women in the constituency—Bow and Bromley—was strongly hostile to woman suffrage."

The *Weekly Dispatch*, in an article signed P. S., declares that, "come what may, there is change in store for womanhood," and predicts the entrance of women into the legal profession in 1913, their admission to the Institute of Chartered Accountants, and their conquest of the air. With regard to their inclusion in the Franchise Bill, "P. S." asks: "Does the eye of hope take in the possibility of failure? Only dimly." We can assure the writer of this kindly column of gossip about women that our vision of the Franchise Bill and its pretence of Votes for Women has never been less "dim" than at present.

Another New Year Wish!

"Hammers and hatchets?" said the ironmonger. "They will be dead out of fashion with the woman of 1913."

Gentlemen! hats off to the woman of 1913!—**Daily Express.**

THE MILITANT AGITATION

Three Suffragists Committed for Trial

During Christmas week attacks on pillar-boxes are reported to have taken place at Catford, Bradford, and Windsor. It is said that at Bradford about a thousand missives were badly damaged. At Glasgow Sheriff's Court a man wearing the M.P.U. badge pleaded guilty to having affixed to a post-office letter-box in the West-end a placard bearing the words, "Danger: Give Votes to Women: Save Your Letters." The magistrate imposed a penalty of £1 or ten days. The papers reported further attacks in London and elsewhere on New Year's Eve.

At Greenwich Police Court on Thursday, December 26, Miss M. Billinghurst, Miss Grace Mitchell, and Miss Louisa Gay were charged on remand with damaging letters at pillar boxes on December 17.

Mr. Hutton, the magistrate, said it was a case to be decided by a jury, and Miss Billinghurst, addressing him, said: "I want you to understand that it is not with the object of doing wanton damage that women attack property in the way they have been driven to attack it. The motive is to wake the public mind out of its apathy, and to make people think about this most grievous injustice to women, namely, the delay in granting votes to women. We have tried every method. The quiet constitutional method was tried for more than forty years. It was not until we became militant, seven years ago, that the public were concerned to think about it, and it was not until we made attacks on property that the public became fully roused as to the necessity of granting women the vote."

All three were committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, bail being allowed in each of the first two cases in a surety of £15, and in Miss Gay's case in two sureties of £15.

The Session at the Central Criminal Court (Old Bailey) opens on January 7.

RAILWAY SIGNALS
A Contradiction

The papers reported that two elbow attachments to one of the signal posts or girders on the Great Northern main line at Potter's Bar were found to have been tampered with on Tuesday night, December 23, and that the following message, which was attached, suggested that the act was meant to be regarded as that of a suffragist:—"The only way to stop this trouble is to remove the cause by giving votes to women." The W.S.P.U., in an official statement sent out to the Press, deny all knowledge of the affair.

RELEASE OF MISS LACKEY

Miss Norah Lackey, who was sentenced on December 18 to three months' imprisonment on a charge of wilfully breaking the glass of a fire-alarm post at Knightsbridge Green, and giving a false alarm of fire, was released from prison on Monday morning, December 23.

OTHER PRISONERS

Demonstrations are being held every evening outside Holloway Gaol, where Miss Elsie Howey, Miss Kitty Marion, and Miss Jane Shortt are still imprisoned. It will be remembered that Miss Margaret Ker is serving a sentence of three months at Manchester.

FORCIBLE FEEDING AGAIN

As we go to press we learn that on Wednesday afternoon, in the House of Commons, Mr. Wright asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to the case of Miss Rose Elsie Neville Howey, a Suffragette, who was sentenced on December 11, 1912, to two months' imprisonment in the third division for giving a false alarm of fire, and is now in Holloway Prison, and whether in view of the state of her health at the time of her imprisonment he will exercise in her case the leniency which he has shown in the case of other similar offenders charged with more serious offences, at any rate, so far as to issue an order permitting Miss Howey to be visited at an early date by her mother and a medical adviser.

Mr. McKenna, in reply, said: The prisoner's health is well maintained notwithstanding her persistent refusal to take food in the ordinary way. I see no reason for advising any reduction of her sentence, nor of allowing her the privilege of receiving visits which she has forfeited by her misconduct. I would point out that she can secure her discharge at any time by payment of the remaining portion of the fine imposed by the court.

Mr. Wright: Is it worse to give a false alarm of fire than to set a theatre on fire?

Mr. McKenna: That question does not arise, the question we have to consider is whether in keeping her in prison her health is maintained or not.

The *Globe*, commenting on the above, says: "The duration of imprisonment, under the present impossible system, is not governed by the quality of the offence, but by the weakness or strength of the criminal."

OUR FUTURE CITIZENS

The Health of School Children

The Report for 1911 of Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, has just been published, and contains many facts of deep significance from a Suffragist point of view. It is stated that the proposition still holds good that was put forward in last year's Report, to the effect that "defective nutrition stands in the forefront as the most important of all physical defects from which school children suffer." This year's record points out amongst other things with regard to this question of malnutrition, that the percentage of "dull" scholars is much higher among such children than among the better fed ones, though, of course, other causes militate also towards the same result. Dr. Badger gives the following table as the result of a special inquiry made by him into the causes of dulness in 131 cases among Wolverhampton school children:—

1.—Influence or re-action of disease.....	49
2.—Strong evidence of neglect, dirt, or drink as cause	26
3.—Defective feeding due to ignorance or poverty	25
4.—Overwork or insufficient sleep	11
5.—Convalescing from recent disease ...	9
6.—Defective heredity	6
7.—Pampering	4
8.—Excessive growth	1
	131

One would like to know what relation "pampering" in the above list of causes would bear to the indulgence of a spoilt child of the wealthy classes!

A Dreary List

Another doctor, as a result of examining badly nourished children in Bedfordshire, attributes malnutrition to insufficient food, improper food, unhealthy home conditions, insufficient sleep, exhausting work outside school hours. A dreary list, indeed, of the causes which render the children of the State unfit to be its future citizens!

It is impossible, in fact, to read this Blue Book without feeling how large a part bad economic conditions and bad housing play in the defective physical character of the children in our elementary schools.

Dr. Badger does, indeed, conclude from the cases examined by him that, although "poverty operates powerfully" in causing malnutrition, it does not play so large a part in it as is sometimes supposed. He deduces this partly, however, from the fact that some of the worst nourished children he examined were better shod than those who were better fed. But this seems to us merely to prove what every friend of the poor knows already, that where mothers, not having enough money to go round, are faced with a choice between buying food and buying clothes, some will spend the money on the physical condition of their children and others on their respectable appearance.

Employed Children

A very interesting section of the Report is that which deals with Medical Inspection and Juvenile Employment. It is estimated that about 211,000 children above 12 and under 14, pass out annually from school with a labour certificate; 35,000 of those left are half-timers, and probably not less than 200,000 others are employed out of school hours. With facts like these before us, it is not surprising to read that "Boys and girls are being spoilt physically, mentally and morally by their too early emergence into the ranks of the employed, by lack of guidance in the choice of occupations suited to their capacity, by inadequate opportunities of skilled training, and by insufficient safe-guarding and husbanding of their physical powers and resources." If we have a complaint to bring against Sir George Newman's Report, it is that he does not give sufficient prominence to the relation of medical inspection to the health of the child who is employed out of school hours. It is, of course, much easier to obtain statistics of children whose whole time is employed or even of the half-timer; but much information must have been gained about those children who are serving their full time in school, and are errand boys or girl drudges at home in what should be their play time. These form, after all, the majority of the children in our elementary schools.

The facts which are now disclosed show that the health of the children of the labouring classes is extensively defective, so extensively defective, indeed, as to amount to a serious national evil; and the general causes of its defectiveness are not far to seek. They arise from conditions of feeding, housing, and over-crowding which are universally condemned, and which gain much of their potency from the fact that those who are subject to them are too often indifferent to their existence and ignorant of their effects.—**The Times**

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SHORT REVIEWS

Biographers of saints are apt as a rule to remove the saintly person out of the mortal sphere altogether, thus destroying half the value of their saintliness. It is well-known that Mr. William Canton does not err in this direction, and "The Story of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary" (Herbert and Daniel, 6s. net) is a delightfully written story of one of the most human good women who were ever canonised. There is nothing mawkish or sentimental in it, from the first page to the last; and it is one of those few books that can be given either to the child or the grown-up person. The historical setting of the story is very well done, too; and the book is worth reading if only for the account of that curious Children's Crusade that swept through France and Germany into Italy, and ended with such disaster at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In "Embroidery Stitches," by M .E. Wilkinson (Herbert Jenkins, 5s. net), a very useful compilation has been made of all the well-known stitches used in embroidery, with descriptions of the way to work them, aided by quite admirable diagrams. Indeed, if it were not for the diagrams the descriptions would sometimes fall a little short of complete lucidity; as, for example, in the explanation of the buttonhole stitch where the worker is instructed to "throw the thread over the point of the needle from left to right, forming a loop." There are ways and ways of throwing the thread over the needle, some of which would not form the right sort of buttonhole loop at all; and it is a pity that in this case the illustration does not actually show the loop in process of formation. In all those cases where the needle is shown, the diagram leaves nothing to be desired. The book does not aim at giving what might be called the folk-lore of embroidery, or some very interesting designs might be shown of stitches used in native work all over the world. But within its limitations it forms an excellent handbook, and should be of real use to embroiderers who know the elements only of their craft.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Famous Speeches" (Second Series). Edited and Selected with Introductory Notes by Herbert Paul. London: Pitman. Price, 7s. 6d. net.)

"The Pleasuring of Susan Smith." By Helen M. Winslow. (London: Pitman. Price, 3s. 6d. net.)

"The Right Sort." By Leslie Havergal Bradshaw. (London: A. and C. Black. Price, 3s. 6d. net.)

"The Agate Lamp." By Eva Gore-Booth. (London: Longmans, Green. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Little Thank You." By Mrs. T. P. O'Connor. (London: G. Putnam's Sons. Price, 2s. net.)

"Woman and Natural Law." By Frances Swiney. (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd. Price, 6d. net.)

"The Reef." By Edith Wharton. (London: Macmillan. Price 6s.)

"THE MAN'S SHARE"
By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE
(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912, together with a biographical note.)
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A MINIMUM WAGE FOR WOMEN

The decision of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, last Saturday, to adopt in all its productive businesses the minimum scale of wages for its unskilled women employees, amounting to some 10,000 in all, is a great advance in national economics, and a victory for the Women's Co-operative Guild, who have long been working for this reform. The following is the new scale of wages, to come into operation not later than the beginning of 1914:—

Age	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Wages...	5s.	7s.	9s.	11s.	13s.	15s.	17s.

Though still far from being "equal pay for equal work" for men and women (the adult man's minimum being fixed by the Society at 24s.), this scale of wages represents a considerable advance on the old scale, and is, of course, higher than is adopted by many Government departments. As Mr. J. J. Mallon says (writing in the *Daily News* on December 23), "From recently issued Board of Trade Blue-books we know the measure in which such women are underpaid. Of fifty trades investigated by the Department nineteen pay wages to women that average less than 13s. per week."

And the *Manchester Guardian*, in its leading article of December 26, says:—

"That an able-bodied, adult woman should be paid for a hard week's work the sum of from 8s. to 14s. by the great majority of 'respectable' business firms in the country is perhaps the most degrading factor in the current labour problem. . . . It is to be hoped and expected that the victory will be followed up by an early pressure of the demand upon all Government departments and municipalities to bring their wages for women up to the Co-operative level. Many of the wage-rates for such public employees are scandalously low, and the true policy for the civil government of the nation is identical with that of the economic government of the Co-operative movement. The chief essential difference lies in the superior democratic organisation of the latter, owing to the equal voting power of the sexes and the more thorough and consistent application of the principle of democratic control."

"On Equal Terms"

Suffragists, while welcoming any strengthening of women's economic position, will not lose sight of their ultimate goal—the establishment of the principle that men and women should be paid equally for equal work. In this connection it is interesting to refer to a report which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of the Co-operative Congress held in May, 1907, when Mr. A. W. Golightly moved to establish a minimum wage for all classes of workers in the co-operative movement, and one of the speakers (Mr. Simmons) said the term "minimum wage" by itself was very vague. "Do you mean," he asked, "if I have a daughter working for the Society, and doing equal work with your son, you are going to pay the son 10s. a week and my daughter 3s. 6d.?" (Laughter.) He was an advocate for a minimum wage when it was made perfectly clear that "man" meant "woman," and "woman" meant "man." (Laughter.) They had, in some of their co-operative societies women who were working for wages which were not, as was Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. (Laughter.) Mr. Doughty said that when women were introduced into particular industries it was because they could be got for less money than men, and the result was to reduce men's wages. The same minimum wage should be made to govern the employment of both sexes.

"The President, in putting the motion, which was adopted unanimously, said the meaning of it was that a minimum wage should be fixed for each sex. The National Union of Teachers had different scales for men and women—(hear, hear)—and he took it that the same practice would apply here."

ANNA ELLA CARROLL

Those interested in Mr. S. D. Shallard's article on "How Anna Carroll saved the American Union," which appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN for December 13, may like to know that the three principal papers prepared by Miss Carroll for the United States Government during the Civil War, and officially published at Washington and distributed by the Government, are in the British Museum Reading Room. They are:

(1) The War Power of the Government: Washington, 1861; 24 pp. (prepared by request of Secretary of War).

(2) The Constitutional Powers of the President: Washington, 1861, 16 pp. (by request of the Attorney-General).

(3) The relation of the General Government to the Revolted Citizens: Washington, 1861, 16 pp. (by request of President Lincoln).

"POST" IMPRESSIONISTS

The Suffragettes, in their letter-box campaign, seem to be copying the Post Impressionists—the aim in each case being to make unintelligible what they leave behind them.—**London Opinion.**

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(From an American Correspondent)

As a result of the recent election in the United States Woman Suffrage has passed by one bound from the sphere of doubtful political expediency to the sphere of assured practical politics. No wonder New York City blazed with a jubilant torchlight procession. Whatever battles are yet to be won, that was a day of victory.

The reverse suffered in Ohio last September, when an equal suffrage amendment to the State Constitution was defeated, has been much more than counter-balanced. The carrying of Michigan has brought into the East a suffrage state of large population and wealth and high educational standards. Aun Arber University has many a daughter in every State of the Union who will feel a thrill of gratitude that Michigan has welcomed women into political life as generously as she welcomed them to her great University while yet other institutions of equal standing were hanging back from so dread an experiment.

Kansas is an important acquisition west of the Mississippi River, while Oregon and Arizona have now made the Pacific Coast a solid bulwark of the cause.

One of the notable features of these Suffrage victories is that they cannot be traced to the work or influence of a political party. Three of the four States which voted for the Suffrage amendments—Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon—were carried by the Democrats on the issue of the Presidency, though it was Theodore Roosevelt and his new progressive party that had declared for national equal suffrage. It is an interesting fact that of the six States where women already had the vote at least four—Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah—voted for either Wilson or Taft. There was no feminine stampede to the new party in those States simply because the Progressives had endorsed equal suffrage in their national platform. It follows that there is no social or political revolution lurking in the equal suffrage cause. On the contrary, experience would probably prove that the conservative elements of society and the State would gain from the abolition of sex discrimination in voting quite as much as the more radical elements.

And so from the hardest fought presidential campaign since the fateful election of 1860 the woman's cause emerges triumphant. Women have voted "straight" in the face of tempting promises with their eyes wide open to the value of those promises, and already the day has dawned when no man who asks the suffrage of the American people for the highest gift in their power can afford to ignore the 1,000,000 women who may from henceforth say him yea or nay.

FRANCES JOHNSTON.

Mrs. Helen J. Scott, of Tacoma, and Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee, of Colorado Springs, will be recorded in history as the first two women to cast their votes for a President of the United States in the Electoral College, as they are fully qualified members of that body by verdict of the November Presidential election.

ONLY A LITTLE GIRL OF FOUR

"£25, or three months' imprisonment," was the sentence passed on December 19 on a woman Suffragist for giving a false fire alarm. At the Rushall Police Court on December 15 a casual labourer, charged with assaulting a little girl of four, was sentenced to a fine of 40s. and costs, the magistrate remarking that, having regard to the youth's previous good character, he would be allowed to pay the money by instalments.

Suffragist v. Chauffeur

It may be said, perhaps, that in the case of the woman Suffragist more lives than one might have been endangered indirectly. We do not admit this contention,—for no lives were endangered in point of fact, whereas more than life was at stake in the case of the little girl of four. But even if lives had been risked through the militant protest, how much more was this the case at Hove, where, on December 13, a motor-car driver was charged with driving a car to the public danger when drunk? He had been twice before convicted for the same offence. Sentence, one month!

Property v. Life

The monstrous inequality in the sentences imposed for damage to property and person respectively is apparent every day in the week in the records of our police courts. Take these two, on December 13, in East Ham Police Court (1) for assaulting his wife, striking her on the nose, knocking her down, and kicking her as she lay on the floor, a labourer was fined £1 and costs, or in default fourteen days. (2) For stealing 4½lb of tea from the steamship where he worked, a dock labourer was sentenced to one month's hard labour without the option of a fine.

DEMONSTRATIONS ON JANUARY 5

We learn that the Executive Committee of the British Socialist party are arranging a series of meetings and demonstrations in favour of adult suffrage (for all men and women). Sunday, January 5, has been chosen as the date for these meetings, one of which will be held in Trafalgar Square. A procession will form up on the Embankment, and will leave for the Square at 2.30 p.m. Suffragists are invited to join.

A CONTRAST

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Some time ago you kindly published a letter in which I drew the attention of the public to the injustice perpetrated by Mr. Justice Madden in his different sentences on women and men. One of the examples I gave was that of William Whelan, convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment—a short enough sentence, surely, for taking the life of a fellow creature. I find it stated in the press that William Whelan was released from prison by order of the Lord Lieutenant on Christmas Eve, the reason given being that His Excellency had been presented with a petition on behalf of this man, saying that the crime was unpremeditated, &c., though such considerations were taken into account already, as is evidenced by the lightness of the sentence. Compare this with the fact that Lord Aberdeen refused to release Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, or give them First Division treatment, although they took no life, and the offence they did commit was for a political motive. Apparently, His Excellency considers the taking of life of less importance than the damaging of property. Further, he was willing to allow these two women to be tortured almost to death, and refused to release them or give them the status which was their due, even though he received numerous petitions from suffrage societies and others to do so.—Yours, &c.,

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Dublin.

We regret that owing to heavy pressure on our last week's space the advertisement of Messrs. Alexander and Co., florists, of 16, Brook Street, was omitted. They have a splendid selection of choice cut flowers, as well as baskets of growing flowers and plants, and readers might well pay a visit to their shop.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

"Q.V.!"—Will any Suffragists at Yeovil or Taunton please communicate with Mrs. R. C. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, London, W.

ESSEX HALL, Essex Street, Strand (near the Law Courts).—Thurs., Jan. 2, His Excellency Abdul Baha will speak on "The Equality of Women." The chair will be taken by Mrs. Despard at 8 p.m. Admission free. Reserved tickets, 1s. each, from Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and at the doors.

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